

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ACDA-05 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 EB-07 CIEP-01 TRSE-00 STR-04 OMB-01 CEA-01

COME-00 IO-10 OES-03 NASA-01 ERDA-05 SAM-01 SAB-01

NEA-10 CU-02 /111 W

----- 113831

R 211541Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7032

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

CINCEUR

USDEL/SALT TWO GENEVA 113

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IT, UR

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SUBJECT: LEONE VISIT TO MOSCOW

1. SUMMARY. DOCUMENTS AND SPEECHES SO FAR MADE PUBLIC FROM THE LEONE VISIT TO MOSCOW INDICATE A HARMONIOUS VISIT WITH BOTH GOVERNMENTS APPARENTLY AGREEING TO DOWNPLAY CONTROVERSY, OR AT LEAST TO KEEP IT OUT OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN. INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE ITALIANS MAY HAVE PUSHED A BIT ON BASKET III, MEETING THE EXPECTED SOVIET RESISTANCE, BUT AT LEAST IN PUBLIC THE TWO SIDES MADE ONLY OBLIQUE REFERENCES TO THOSE ISSUES. THE SOVIET BIG PUSH WAS ON DISARMAMENT. MOST NOTABLE ASPECT OF JOINT DECLARATION IN THIS REGARD IS THE APPEARANCES IN SOVIET PRESS FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MANY MONTHS OF THE WORDS "ASSOCIATED MEASURES" IN THE FULL TITLE OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. A BOW IS MADE IN THE JOINT DECLARATION TO "PROGRESS" IN SALT, THOUGH CONTINUING URGENCY OF STOPPING ARMS RACE IS EMPHASIZED. ON THE MIDDLE EAST, PODGORNYY REPEATED THE NOVEMBER 9 CALL FOR RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WITH PARTICIPATION OF ALL STATES WITH DIRECT INTERESTS INVOLVED. END SUMMARY.

2. WE WILL PROVIDE FULLER ASSESSMENT OF LEONE VISIT AS SOON AS ITALIAN COLLEAGUES ARE FREE TO BRIEF US, BUT FOLLOWING APPEAR TO BE HIGHLIGHTS OF MOSCOW PORTION JUST COMPLETED.

3. AS EXPECTED, BOTH SIDES SOUGHT AND WORKED FOR A HARMONIOUS VISIT, AND PUBLIC IMAGE PROJECTED IS AMITY AND LACK OF CONTROVERSY. SOVIETS GAVE LEONE WARM PROTOCOL WELCOME: MEETING WITH BREZHNEV, NEGOTIATIONS WITH PODGORNYY AND GROMYKO, KOSYGIN AND DEMICHEV AT SOCIAL EVENTS. IN ADDITION TO JOINT DECLARATION SIGNED BY FOREIGN MINISTERS (EVIDENTLY IN DEFERENCE TO ITALIAN PRESIDENT'S LIMITED CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE), TWO SIDES SIGNED (UNPUBLISHED) FIVE-YEAR ECONOMIC AGREEMENT FOR 1975-1979 AND DOUBLE TAXATION AGREEMENT, SO DOCUMENTARY HARVEST WAS ALSO RESPECTABLE.

4. SOVIETS WERE PRESSING "MATERIALIZATION OF DETENTE" IN MILITARY FIELD, AND ITALIANS STRESSED CULTURAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

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HUMAN ASPECTS OF DETENTE, BUT NEITHER SIDE INSISTED, AND THEY FOUND COMMON GROUND IN BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND MILD REFERENCES TO "POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE" BASED ON 1972 CONSULTATION PROTOCOL. BOTH SIDES WERE ALSO WILLING TO HIGHLIGHT VALUE OF SUMMIT MEETINGS, WHICH APPEAR AS "PERIODIC CONTACTS OF SOVIET AND ITALIAN GOVERNING OFFICIALS" IN JOINT DECLARATION. SOMEWHAT CURIOUSLY, HOWEVER, PODGORNYY RESPONDED TO

LEONE'S INVITATION TO VISIT ITALY WITH THANKS BUT NOT WITH ACCEPTANCE EVEN IN PRINCIPLE, IN PRAVDA VERSION.

5. ON ARMS CONTROL, DECLARATION NOTED NEED TO COMPLEMENT POLITICAL WITH MILITARY DETENTE IN EUROPE, STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF MBFR (USING FULL TITLE FOR TALKS WHICH INCLUDES REFERENCE TO ASSOCIATED MEASURES AND NOTING PRINCIPLE OF NON-DIMINUTION OF SECURITY) AND BLESSED MORE EFFORTS TOWARD GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT UNDER EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL, INCLUDING THOSE TAKEN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT. DECLARATION STATES THAT "REGARDLESS OF PROGRESS" REACHED IN SALT, ARMS RACE REMAINS AN URGENT PROBLEM. BOTH SIDES ALSO SUPPORTED EXTENDING CIRCLE OF COUNTRIES INCLUDED IN NPT AND CALLED FOR WDC "WITH APPROPRIATE PREPARATION" AND PARTICIPATION BY ALL NUCLEAR POWERS. ITALIANS DID NOT HOWEVER BUY ONTO SOVIET UN PROPOSALS ON CTB AND MDN: THEY PROMISED ONLY TO "EXAMINE" THEM "WITH INTEREST AND IN A CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT". IN HIS NOVEMBER 18 KREMLIN TOAST, PODGORNYY MADE A VERY STRONG PITCH FOR MBFR, SAYING "REALISM" WOULD MAKE AN AGREEMENT IN THE TALKS "ENTIRELY POSSIBLE," WHILE LEONE'S RESPONSE PUT IT AT THE END OF HIS ARMS CONTROL LIST, AND ONLY IN THE FORM OF "TALKS FROM GENEVA TO VIENNA."

5. OTHERWISE, MOST STRIKING PASSAGES OF TOASTS AND DECLARATION CONCERNED MIDDLE EAST AND EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. PODGORNYY'S TOAST BEGAN WITH EASTERN MED AS IT LAUNCHED INTO THE HOTBEDS OF POTENTIAL CONFLICT; ON THE MIDDLE EAST, HE CALLED FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL

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"ASSOCIATION OF THE EFFORTS OF ALL PEACELOVING STATES" TO RECONVENE GENEVA "WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL DIRECTLY-INTERESTED SIDES." DECLARATION WAS MILD. IN IT, BOTH SIDES "CONSIDER" THAT JUST PEACE IN ME CAN BE ACHIEVED "ONLY ON CONDITION OF FULL WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM ALL TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967, RECOGNITION OF THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS AND RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE, INCLUDING ITS RIGHT TO HAVE ITS OWN NATIONAL HOME ("HEARTH") AND ALSO RELIABLE INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES WHICH WOULD SECURE THE AUTONOMOUS EXISTENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF ALL STATES (GOSDARSTVA) OF THAT REGION." DECLARATION FOUND THAT DETENTE PROCESS IN EUROPE EMBODYING HELSINKI PRINCIPLES CAN HELP SPREAD DETENTE TO OTHER WORLD AREAS, "PARTICULARLY THE MEDITERRANEAN," BUT IT SEEMS

STANDARD AND EVEN MODEST ON CYPRUS, SINCE IT CALLS FOR  
WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES FROM TERRITORY OF REPUBLIC,  
RATHER THAN FROM "ISLAND" (I.E., SBA'S).

5. SOVIETS HAVE BEEN PROGRESSIVELY MORE WILLING TO  
MENTION WORLD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN JOINT STATEMENTS  
WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES, AND TOOK ANOTHER STEP IN  
DECLARATION ARTICLE 6: BOTH SIDES AGREED ON THE  
NEED TO RECONSTRUCT INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS  
TO INCLUDE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN WORLD ECONOMIC  
PROGRESS AND TO INSURE THAT SUCH COUNTRIES "EXERCISE IN-  
FLUENCE ON THE CHOICE OF PATHS ON WHICH ACHIEVEMENT  
OF PROGRESS DEPENDS." THE DECLARATION STATES THAT  
"CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE" ON THESE PROBLEMS AND  
"ECONOMIC COOPERATION ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY "WILL  
PROMOTE PROGRESS TOWARD THESE ENDS.

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ACTION EUR-12

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NEA-10 CU-02 /111 W

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R 211541Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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6. CSCE PASSAGES FOLLOW CLOSELY THE GISCARD PRECEDENT,  
AND SPELL OUT IN DETAIL PRINCIPLES AND BASKETS, IN-  
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CLUDING CONTENT OF BASKET III. SIMILAR PRESENTATION  
WAS OBTAINED BY FRENCH ONLY AFTER LENGTHY NEGOTIATIONS  
AND SOME TENSION (REF MOSCOW 14978). WE SEE SOME MUTED  
TENSION ON BASKET III ISSUES IN THE PODGORNYY AND LEONE  
TOASTS NOVEMBER 18, WHERE PODGORNYY STATED THAT  
CULTURAL COOPERATION HAS "TRUE WORTH" ONLY IF, HE  
IMPLIES, IT IS CLOSELY CONTROLLED; LEONE, ON THE OTHER  
HAND, REAFFIRMS ITALIAN CONVICTION THAT A "FREE CON-  
FRONTATION" OF IDEAS SERVES DETENTE. THE DECLARATION  
ALSO INDICATES THAT LEONE MAY HAVE PUSHED THE SOVIETS  
FOR AN EXPANDED STUDENT EXCHANGE THOUGH IT STATES  
EXPLICITLY ONLY THAT BOTH GOVERNMENTS "EXPRESSED  
READINESS" TO EXAMINE THE QUESTION.

7. HOWEVER, SOVIETS SEEM TO HAVE STUCK LARGELY TO  
APPROACH SIGNALLED IN PRE-VISIT BUILDUP, PLACING  
VISIT FIRMLY IN SUCCESSION OF POST-HELSINKI TRIPS  
TO MOSCOW BY WEST EUROPEAN HEADS OF STATE TO  
"MATERIALIZE DETENTE." TENSION ON BASKET III ISSUES  
MAY HAVE BEEN PRESENT, BUT THE SOVIETS SEEM TO HAVE  
BEEN INTENT ON ENSURING THAT THEY SHOULD NOT BE  
MADE A PUBLIC ISSUE. AND LIKE THE WEST GERMANS  
DURING SCHEEL VISIT, THE ITALIANS SEEM TO HAVE MET  
THEM AT LEAST HALFWAY.

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Draft Date:** 21 NOV 1975  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
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**TAGS:** PFOR, IT, UR, (LEONE, GIOVANNI)  
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